

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: Richard Nashiwa, 72, retired camp bakery manager, Paia

"Yeah, only haole buying bread. Japanese not buying. But...they learn to use 'em in so many different ways. Oh, the Japanese start buying. They were the majority [on the plantation] that's why.... You had to get them interested in it....That's what my old man was trying to develop--the interest among the Japanese, so that they would use more bread. And they did, you know. They got away from rice."

Richard Nashiwa, Japanese, was born October 25, 1907, in Hamakua Poko, Maui. His father, Minetaro Nashiwa, once a cook for the Baldwin family, is founder of Nashiwa Bakery, a household name on Maui.

When Richard was two years old, his father moved the family to Paia and started a taxi business. Richard grew up among haole and Portuguese families.

Richard graduated from Maui High School and attended the University of Southern California, but dropped out after three years. He then returned to Paia and, in 1933, began working at the bakery, founded by his father in 1922.

Richard was left in charge of wholesaling. In 1940, he attended Dunwillie Bakery School in Minnesota to learn more about bakery management.

Nashiwa Bakery was considered a landmark in Paia Camp. Many residents referred to the camp adjoining the bakery as "Nashiwa Camp." In addition to baked goods, Nashiwa Bakery had a lunch counter which sold hamburgers and other foods. As a wholesaler, they supplied stores throughout Maui with baked goods.

In 1947, the present Wailuku bakery opened. The Paia bakery was gradually phased out. Minetaro Nashiwa died in 1965. Today, Richard is retired. He lives with his wife in Wailuku, not too far from the bakery. He enjoys gardening.

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ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Richard Nashiwa (RN)

February 27, 1980

Wailuku, Maui

BY: Warren Nishimoto (WN)

WN: This is an interview with Mr. Richard Nashiwa. Today is February 27, 1980, and we're at his home in Wailuku, Maui.

Okay, Mr. Nashiwa, can we start by having you tell us when you were born?

RN: Nineteen seven [1907].

WN: What was your birthdate?

RN: Oh, twenty-fifth, October.

WN: And where were you born?

RN: H. Poko--Hamakua Poko.

WN: What was your parents doing in Hamakua Poko?

RN: Oh, my father was a cook for H.A. Baldwin, yeah? At that time, he was a cook.

WN: So, he lived in Hamakua Poko?

RN: Yeah. He lived with the Baldwins. They had to keep a cook. He had to board in. Because he had to make the breakfast, and then dinner, and dinner late, eh?

WN: Did your mother do any of the cooking, too?

RN: No, my mother didn't do any of the cooking. My mother was just like a housemaid for the Baldwins.

WN: So, he was a cook. And then, when you were two years old, you said you moved to Paia? Why did you move to Paia?

RN: Well, the family was getting too big, and the schools were getting too far away from home. Instead of increasing his pay, they [Baldwins]

told my father that they'll start him up in a business so he can support the family, you know. That's how we moved to Paia. And they built a store in Paia, right next to the post office and depot.

WN: So, did they build the store right after he . . .

RN: We moved over. After we moved from Hamakua Poko. That was a small store first, you know. It was a restaurant and a store, yeah? Like a snack shop. The Baldwins built that to accomodate the people that came to play tennis and all that. Was a tennis court right next door. And the store [would] supply the refreshments for the tennis court. That's the one they gave us, because it's all like extra spare money coming out for the family. Then at the same time, we bought the car for taxi. For the old man.

WN: So, he was driving a taxi, and he started the store at the same time?

RN: Yeah, yeah. Same time. The income wasn't big enough unless he did all those things. And the Baldwins could see that, too, yeah? So, naturally, they got him a car, and they started him on a taxi.

WN: How did your father get to know the Baldwins so well?

RN: Oh, well, the old man [RN's father] was cook in Honolulu for He was a cook for a bunch of haoles, you know. I don't know what group it was, but he was cooking for them, and then the Baldwins wanted a cook, so they asked him to come up [to Paia] since they knew him.

WN: Oh, from before?

RN: Yeah. And that's how my old man got to know the Baldwins. And then, at the same time, [H.A.] Baldwin got married too, eh? He got married, and then he need the home and he---well, he got the home and the wife all right (chuckles), but he didn't have a cook. They looks around for the old man, and they picked him up. The old man, I don't know actually what he was doing. He was doing something in Honolulu. He was working, but not as a cook for Baldwins until he came to Maui. They brought him over to Maui as a cook for the Baldwins. And then; they guaranteed him a house and the pay, yeah? And that's how he came over to Maui. Because H.A. Baldwin got placed as a manager for MA [Maui Agricultural] Company, eh? Then he need a home in Maui. So, their [Baldwins] first home was in Hamakua Poko. That's where we were, see? That's where I was born.

Then, after he moved from Hamakua Poko to this tennis court in Paia--Upper Paia by the railroad depot--why, the family moved, and they got him a taxi and everything. Anyway, they gave him some other kind of work so that they could pay him more, eh? So, I don't know exactly how the pay came--whether the plantation paid

half of it or the Baldwins I think Baldwin paid all of it. I don't know. That end, I don't know.

WN: So, the place where you lived in Paia, was that near the tennis courts?

RN: Right next yeah. They put a long house, just like a old plantation house, you know. One of those long house right on the edge of the gulch and the gully, down. Then, the old man build a (tape garbled) and everything downstairs--down in the gulch. And he could farm in the gulch, too. Family farm for a garden. Well, they [Baldwins] made it so he could do everything to supply himself with money. Money plus food, yeah? Grew most of it because you couldn't depend on it--outside, eh? Because there weren't peddlers like they are today--so many peddlers.

WN: Did you help at all in the garden and so forth?

RN: No. My father had a taxi driver--Maeda. He did all the farming. He was from Okinawa. He wanted to learn how to drive a car and become a taxi driver, so my father brought him in. And all the spare time he had, he was down in the garden fooling around--with the old man.

Only one neighbor we had--a Portuguese family, Jardine. The father was a department head of the delivery end of Paia Store. His kids used to come over my place to play, and I used to go over their place to play. And every time, their old man have, oh, lot of saloon pilot [crackers], eh? You know, saloon pilot used to come in big barrels, you know. And then, they sell all the good ones [in the store], not cracked ones, yeah? But there used to be a hell of a lot of cracked ones, maybe, down in the bottom of the big barrel. We used to roll the barrel home. He used to--the old man [Jardine]--used to give us the barrel. We roll the barrel home so that we can have 'em at our own house--underneath the house. And they had one underneath their house, too. All the spare [crackers]. Instead of candy, that's what they used to give us.

WN: Did you folks live in a section of the camp where more wealthy people lived?

RN: No, there was nobody there. Just the Portuguese family and us. Just two families.

WN: And the rest of the laborers and . . .

RN: Laborers and all, they lived all in the camp. Above our area. Down by the [Paia plantation] store and the tennis court and the mill. This plantation store and then us. They were the only two people doing business down there. Nobody else could get in, nobody else that had land.

WN: Who else was doing business besides your father [and the plantation

store]?

RN: Nobody else on Lower Paia. There was no land to be had, you see. Those days, they didn't have any land. I don't know. There was no store down Lower Paia. Oh, there was a barbershop down Lower Paia. That was all there was. There was one barbershop down Lower Paia. And fish market. With the fish market was that small little meat market, yeah? The plantation had a big meat market. That was in the camp--plantation camp. The meat market. Then, there was another meat market down Lower Paia that handled the fish and little bit of meat, yeah? Hot dogs and stuff like that. The bread, meat, food. That was the only two places. The store handled all the ham and stuff like that. Before, there used to be plenty ham coming in from the Mainland butchers. All already wrapped up--cured and wrapped. And big--some of 'em about four, five pounds. Those hams used to only cost about six, seven dollars.

WN: Who was selling those hams?

RN: Oh, the plantation store.

WN: The meat market?

RN: Yeah. The meat market was owned by the plantation, but Horio brothers used to run it [Paia Meat Market].

WN: William Horio?

RN: Yeah. And then, after the Horio brothers--some brothers came from Japan, they opened one little repair shop in Lower Paia. That was the first automobile repair shop. And one gasoline service station and a repair shop was opened by the old Horios down Lower Paia, where Kagehiro used to stay.

WN: The time you're talking about now is about the time when you were growing up--when your father started the bakery?

RN: Yeah.

WN: When was that? About what year?

RN: Oh, you mean the bakery in Paia? Oh, that must have been about eight or nine--1908 or 1909.

WN: Oh, he started the bakery?

RN: Yeah, yeah. You know, before the bakery, there used to be a hospital. Dr. Kohatsu used to run the hospital down Lower Paia. They used to have a hospital down there. They used to feed all the patients--plantation patients. You see, they had to have this plantation hospital because all these people came from Japan and they don't talk English. The hospital was having a hard time, and

they couldn't feed 'em right, too, because they don't know what kind of food they accustomed to. Kohatsu knew all those things, so he put in all those things. There was a lot of patients down there.

I used to go to Paia School. After school, why, my father had a little wagon built for me, and two five-gallon cans--slop goes in, you know. In the back. You know what I mean? I go down Lower Paia [to the hospital], get the slop, and bring 'em back home and feed 'em to the pigs. That was my spare job down there. The railroad depot haole family was over there--Cummmings. Scott Cummings. He used to go down with me. He used to want to ride the wagon with me down to Lower Paia because all downhill, yeah? Well, coming up, he had to push from the back. The back of that long cart, that's when all the slop fly up and everything. (Laughs) He covered with slop by the time he got home. (Laughs) He still remember that.

He's around here. He always looking around for me. I see him down Maalaea every once in awhile. Then he tell me, "Goddamn, let's talk about the old times." (Laughs) Scott Cummings used to be down there. Cummings used to be running the railroad depot--Kahului Railroad Depot.

WN: How much did you get paid for that job?

RN: Oh, raising pigs? That was all my job. I didn't even get paid anything. Only when I sold the pig, I got the money.

WN: Who did you sell the pigs to?

RN: Oh, there were plenty people coming for it, you know. We used to usually sell it to the plantation camp people. Portuguese usually. They make sausages, and they make all kind of stuff. They give me some, and then they keep some. They melt the fat, and they soak all the Portuguese sausage in the fat, you see, to keep 'em. Yeah, that's how they stored it up. And then you bring 'em out of the fat, and then you fry 'em. Taste good--you should taste--good. (Laughs)

WN: How many pigs did your father have at that time?

RN: Shee, I think they must have had about sixteen or seventeen, because every time we breed a pig and they give young ones, they give about eight or nine, you know. So, we must have had about fifteen or sixteen of 'em--all sizes. We have a hell of a lot more pigs during the Christmas and New Year time because all the plantation people come. Japanese and all used to come buy pigs. Pākēs used to come.

There used to be lot of single Pākē bachelors. You know how the Pākēs used to hang the pig in the big hole with the fire. They

broil the pig--roast the pig in the hole. Well, they used to do a lot of that. They used to give us about five, six pound of it, and the rest, they sell all to the camp--the bachelors. Chinese bachelors, you know. Pig, like that.

That's why the sale of pigs was always plentiful. Then they would give you order, that they would want so many pigs for Christmas, so many pigs for then. They would give you that order early. And then, they come to kill it and everything. We didn't do any killing. They come and kill 'em, and they take whatever they need inside--guts and blood, and all. The Portuguese used to come and buy, too. Lot of Portuguese. All the plantation people used to come buy pigs. Pākēs, Japanese, Portuguese, all. Portuguese used to make sausages and store 'em up. Japanese used to--shee, I don't know what they used to do--but they used to cook 'em mostly. But I don't know how they used to cook 'em. I never see no preserved pork by Japanese, except for the roasting days, we barbecued some. That's the only kind. But the Chinese, the Portuguese, and Hawaiians. Oh, you can readily see, you know, everybody looking for pigs. Get plenty people raising pigs, but there's only so much slop to be had. I [got slop from] the hospital, so I didn't have to worry. All I have to do was to go down and get it all and bring it back and feed it to the pigs.

WN: Did you have to pay at all for the slop?

RN: No. Kohatsu--the doctor--gave it to me for nothing. But I don't know, bumbai they used to charge people to come and get 'em after I quit. But other than that, I never heard of anybody buying slop. It was all given, and they come and take 'em away.

WN: It must have been very inexpensive to raise pigs.

RN: Oh, yeah. You see, the mother pig would give about seven, eight babies. You get one little baby for nothing, look like. Maybe [if] you didn't have.

"Hey, I'm short of pig. I need so many more young pigs by January."

"Oh, okay," he say, "Give you now, next time you give me."

You take five, six from the other guy because he has the young ones. And you bring 'em home. Next year, when you breed yours, you make sure that you have extra that you can pay back. So, mostly like that--the pigs. All change hands. The people who buy it, they don't actually pay too much cash because they give you so much of it [after it's prepared]. They say they going give you so much. Naturally--like my place--were lot of kids, and everybody enjoy eating, yeah? So, they all growing, so they all eat those. They give us plenty pig--pork, sausages--at least everything. Da kine roast--Chinese roast, too.

That Chinese roast used to be lot of fun. They used to roast the pig in the afternoon. By the time they get through roasting, it's about 5 o'clock, just about the time Japanese school gets over. After the Japanese school, while walking home, why, the Pākēs have the pork ready and give us the pork. That next day, we supposed to bring some sweet potato for them. So, we bring some sweet potato from my farm. Bring up the sweet potato for the Pākē. The following afternoon, roast potato. They steam potato--it's steamed, you know, sweet potato. So that you can eat 'em with the pork. That's how the Chinese people used to want, so. And then, the pumpkins, too. They want so much pumpkin. We used to raise all the pumpkin down the gulch. Oh, we used to grow wild. No more too much fruit flies those days for some reason, because we never had no problem. Oh, just full of pumpkin, full of tōgan. You know, the Pākēs, they like tōgan, too. Full of those vegetables used to grow down--just wild--down the gulch. All we had to do was make sure that we took back for whatever we got.

They say, "Oh yeah, I like squash"--we used to call 'em. There used to be two kinds of squash. There used to be about that big, round and long buggas, and then there's the short, fat, big buggas. That's the kind. They used to tell us what kind, whether they like the short, fat one or the skinny, long one. We bring it. And then, after we bring 'em to them, if they don't have enough pork that time, next when they kill, they remember. They give you.

WN: So, was more exchange, then?

RN: Exchange. All exchange. And no money--no monetary exchange, you know. They always gave you pork. They get the pig from you, and they always gave you pork. They pay you for the pig--about ten dollars or fifteen dollars--and the balance is all swap. They knew that you had to save some money for school. That, they knew, so they always made sure that you got ten, fifteen dollars from purchase. After that, they give you all in food--steam pork, roast pork, they call pickled pork--all kind. They even used to pickle pork in vinegar. Taste good, though.

WN: Who did that? The Chinese?

RN: Chinese. Was good. I never ate that after the Chinese all moved out. They were always single bachelors, and they moved out from the plantation. Well, they keep dying one by one. Pretty soon, there were no Chinese old men. But before, there used to be plenty Chinese old folks.

WN: Do you know why they started to move out?

RN: Chinese? Shee, I don't know the reason why they moved out. But Chinese were big gamblers. That's how they moved out. Because plantation work is long hours and [from] early in the morning [until] late at night. No more time for gamble, eh? Only time they gamble

is when they get over the weekend, or they would go to Lower Paia, or the gang come in the plantation camp. Those gamblers used to bring in--must have been opium, which we never knew. We knew what it was, but we never knew it was illegal to sell 'em.

These Pākēs used to have 'em in bottles. We wondered many, many times how the hell did they get it in the bottle. Look like molasses in a bottle. They get one hashi, you know, they put hashi inside. First, they boil some water, and they get hot water in the bottle. And the hashi is just about as long as the bottle. They stick this hashi inside the molasseslike stuff--that was the opium--and they pull 'em out and then put 'em inside this bottle of hot water. It dissolves, and then they drink that water, you see? Then they can't be caught, because there's no smell around the place--the smoke.

WN: Oh, so they drink it?

RN: Yeah, they used to drink it. It's all bachelors. They used to drink it.

WN: You actually saw them?

RN: Yeah, yeah. It's all in a bottle like that. We used to wonder what it was in the beginning. Old Pākē--old man--he used to tell, "Oh, good, good. This good, you know. You like?" And, oh, we no like, yeah? (Chuckles) We no like because it looks dirty--dirty with just one hashi like that inside the damn water. And then, they shake the hashi, and all the water get kinda amber color. And they drink the water, you see? That makes them drunk. Drunk enough for that day and that night, and then they can still go to work the next morning. The plantation didn't mind they having opium, but the thing is, if they get too much and they don't go to work, well, then the plantation didn't like it, eh? Because they depend on the service that they was rendering.

Those Pākē guys, they used to save money. They had no other expense, so they used to save money. They were always able to buy this kind stuff because they always had plenty bottles. Like us, we were kids, so we never thought of trying to sell [opium in] the black market. We could have gotten plenty of it in black market because these ships that come in, they used to bring 'em in. After they get so much cash from the Pākēs, well, then the Pākēs no more money already. They no can sell no more. Then they used to throw 'em alongside the cane field, anything, yeah? We could pick 'em all up and keep 'em. Then, when those guys run out, when they get paid on payday They get paid only once a month those days. Just about one dollar a day.

Like today's kids, quick, they go in the black market. But those days, no more kids that do black market stuff like that. We never had any. We had lot of chance of doing black marketing because

plenty opium used to come in. The Pākēs used to bring 'em in. I don't know how they used to bring 'em in, but they used to have 'em in boxes with all this rice and all shells. And long stem, you know. Skinny stem like about this big around.

WN: Oh, about as big as your

RN: Yeah, and about so high. With the bottom about that big. That's for the purpose of sticking the hashi inside--the stem.

WN: So, it's about as tall as a

RN: Hashi, yeah. We never thought nothing of it at that time. Well, we used to see 'em all over the place. All over the Chinese homes and all around the neighborhood. Maybe they steal--among themselves--they steal, and they hide 'em. It was all over underneath the house and all over the plantation. But nobody sold anything, nobody bought anything. Because nobody buys that's why. Pākēs are smart. They no buy, that's why, yeah. Because the guy that came and sold the original opium took all the cash. There was no money around already. So, even if we found opium, we couldn't sell it because they [Chinese] didn't have any money.

WN: Could people exchange for other things? For opium? You know, like pigs, vegetables?

RN: Oh, no. That was practically given to everybody when the time came, so nobody bought any of that. Pork and like that, nobody bought. They only promise to give you. Their promise is good.

WN: Where did the Chinese live?

RN: Oh, the long houses. One-room houses. It's a long house about six, seven foot off the ground. The house was about ten by ten [foot] rooms. All rooms like that. They used to live. They smoked opium, too. Those rooms were off--no nothing, only one window and one door. They used to lie down in the room and then smoke. That's when we used to know that they was smoking opium. Then the police used to come around. The Pākēs, they make plenty noise. You know, they hit the can and everything. Then all the other Pākēs go hide the opium and all. Well, we used to wonder what the hell was all the commotion. (Chuckles)

WN: Oh, when they saw the policemen, they would

RN: Yeah, they would hide it, yeah. You know, because it was a raid. (Chuckles) We never knew what a raid was for. But that's how they used to raid in this long plantation house--bachelor house. The long house must have had about twenty or thirty rooms, all about ten by twelve [foot] rooms.

WN: Each room was ten by twelve? And had twenty or thirty in one

RN: One building, yeah. There was a long veranda. And hot days--hot summertime--they all sleep outside on the veranda. We used to go out and see the Pākēs. (Chuckles) The Pākēs used to plant plenty pumpkins around the house, because they steam the pumpkin with the pork. We used to go throw pumpkin when the Pākē sleeping on the porch. He wild like hell; he chase us; we go run away. Then bumbai, the following day or so, they see us again, and they say, "You folks no throw pumpkin, you know. We go cook the pumpkin. Bring the pumpkin, we cook for you." And then they cook 'em with the pork. They used to taste good like sweet potatoes. (Chuckles) Because those pork was only preserved by salt, so it made the pumpkin just right.

They used to--[around the] plantation camp--they used to raise their own potatoes, so they used to bake the potatoes or cook the potatoes, the pumpkin and all that, and tōgan with it. They used to give all the kids. They come back from school--they go to Japanese school. Before they go Japanese school, they pass this--what they call Chinese old man home (chuckles)--then the Pākē would give us. He got big pot of whatever he has. He may have potato, pumpkin; he may have tōgan or anything. They give, you know, with one piece pork. They cut one piece pork, and then they give all the kids going Japanese school. That's how the old Chinese folks used to do. So, no one had to steal. Nobody used to steal because nobody had to steal. They gave 'em all the kaukau.

WN: The Chinese used to cook their own, then?

RN: Oh, yeah. No, there was no cook. They cook their own. They all bachelors. No more wives. All bachelors. Well, I suppose they couldn't bring their wives because they had no money, yeah? And there was no job for the wives. The plantation didn't need the wives. They needed the men, but they didn't need the wives.

The few Chinese ladies that did come, came as plantation camp boss or something like that. Ran the Pākēs around. Then, this Chinese school and stuff like that. Chinese ladies came [to teach]. They got married. There weren't too many ladies. Was all bachelors. And then, pretty soon, no more bachelors. No more Pākēs used to be. All gone. Pākē--the Chinese people.

WN: Did you notice, did they all leave at one time or they left little by little?

RN: No, little by little, they begin to disappear. We didn't know where they were going, but it never bothered us because the only thing we were missing was that we weren't getting as much pork, and roast, [and those things]. But we were beginning to miss 'em because there were no Chinese people. And the Chinese people were really nice to us.

I used to have this Portuguese family living right next door to me.

We go Japanese school, on my way home, the Portuguese boy go English school, and then they wait for me to get through with Japanese school, and then they walk home with me all the way. This Pākēs, they give us all kind of stuff. We take home, eh? So, this Portuguese family was very close. Jardine family was very close to us. Yeah, all through life, they were all very close to us.

WN: How did you communicate with the Chinese?

RN: Chinese? Oh, I don't know. With all broken English and everything. But we used to get ourselves understood. I suppose we used to know some Chinese words too--what the Pākē used to teach us. Few words that they used to teach us. We used to know. Because we used to talk all kind of language. We used to talk Puerto Rican, we used to talk Portuguese, we used to talk this Pākē language. All different kinds.

The old folks were really nice to us because they knew we wouldn't steal their stuff--cooking outside or anything. We don't touch those things until they give us, you see? You become that way. I don't know why, but we never took anything from anybody. They always gave us. Those days, yeah? We never bought anything, and we never stole anything. We didn't have to. It was always given. I think they had so much to eat--the Chinese--and they were all bachelors. We never had any liquor to sell or anything. If they had to buy, they had to buy liquor and the opium and stuff, but we never had none of that. And whatever time they had cash was only when the plantation paid them. Payday once a month only.

WN: So, they could get pork, and they could get vegetables from you folks, but what kind of things did they go to the store for?

RN: Oh, the store? Was the rice, salt, and stuff like that.

WN: This was the Paia plantation store?

RN: It's the plantation store, yeah. Big plantation store, too.

WN: What other stores were there?

RN: There were no other stores. Only the plantation store. So, if they didn't have cash, they could charge it there. They give their name and [plantation] number. The Pākēs--bachelors--used to charge 'em. There was Portuguese people that used to work in the store. They know 'em by name and number, eh? They used to charge 'em. The plantation used to make good.

WN: What about other kind of recreation when you were growing up? What else did you do to have fun?

RN: Shee, we used to go swim in the plantation reservoirs and ditches, which we not supposed to, you know. There used to be big ditch with

lot of water coming down. We not supposed to go get in the ditch because too many die. Because the ditch is about ten feet wide and about four, five feet deep, but the water flows pretty fast. If you don't know how to swim, why, you get drowned. That's about all. We used to swim plantation pond and the ditches. That's the only kind of fun we had. Nothing else that we could do. I played a little tennis because after a while Scott Cummings' father gave me a tennis racket. Scott Cummings used to play tennis, too, and we used to get in the tennis court, play tennis.

WN: Where was the tennis courts?

RN: Right next to the railroad depot. Yeah, and one wall of the tennis court was the store--my father's store. He sell 'em soda water and all that. That door opened over just like a counter. And he sell 'em--right over the counter--he sell 'em the soda water. That's all he used to sell. Only soda water. Had nothing else to sell.

WN: Is that the same location as the bakery?

RN: No, never had no bakery there. That was just this . . .

WN: Just the store?

RN: Yeah. The bakery came up at the camp [above the tennis court]. In the camp, you see? Because that's where all the people lived, eh?

WN: So, your father just sold soda water in that store?

RN: Yeah, soda water and little whatever lunch--sandwiches and stuff--they used to sell over there. Then he used to run the taxi.

WN: While he was running the taxi, who watched the store?

RN: Oh, my mother. They used to run the taxi and the store. There used to be people coming up from Kahului side on railroad. The railroad used to have a coach. Every so many hours, the coaches come from Kahului and Wailuku. When they come to Paia, they want to get over to Lower Paia, or get over to Upper Paia, or to Makawao side, they used to come to the store and the taxi would take 'em. That's the business they gave my old man. Usually, the plantation used to pay for it, so my father never used to get stuck with it. Because lot of those people were plantation people. They want to go up Makawao. Because there was an old mill up at Makawao. So, they used to go up lot by Makawao side. Makawao, Kula side--all that side. They used to be all plantation.

WN: So, laborers used to catch that taxi, too?

RN: Not laborers. Laborers used to have trucks--plantation trucks. And that run early in the morning only.

WN: So, who rode in the taxi?

RN: These mostly haole guys that the plantation send over to push certain kind of cane that they running or certain kind agricultural processes. They bring in men to teach the common laborers. You had to drive those people to the work and bring 'em home. They take a bath, and they go to the restaurant and eat. That was all given. The plantation pay for it. They give it to my father, and he used to have to go pick 'em up. They tell 'em so-and-so is coming, how many of 'em coming, go pick 'em up. And he used drive 'em up.

WN: You know, those tennis courts? Could anybody play in that tennis court, or was it . . .

RN: No, no. That tennis court was all plantation. Strictly plantation.

WN: You mean, the haoles?

RN: Yeah, the haoles. Because other people didn't know how to play tennis. There was nobody else playing tennis except these haoles. (Pause) There were no more even ball games, you know. There were no baseball at our time when we were kids. Just as we were growing and then start going to high school, then the baseball games began to start. Until then, there were no games or any kind going on.

WN: Organized games?

RN: No, no more.

WN: What about among the haole children?

RN: They used to come tennis court.

WN: They used to have baseball over there?

RN: Never see 'em---none of them played baseball, but they used to play tennis, and they used to play croquet. That's about all the haole kids used to play. And swim. They used to do lot of swimming.

WN: Was there a pool there?

RN: Yeah. They used to have a plantation pool. Plantation used to have pool for the workers.

WN: For the workers, too?

RN: Yeah.

WN: Would the workers and the haoles swim in the same pool?

RN: No. The haole pool is different. The kids' pool different. The kids' pool, it ran uphill like that. Then, deep on one end. That's for the kids. So, if they want to swim long, why, they got

to swim up--uphill just like. If they don't have too much place to swim, why, they just walk down into the deep [end]. And then, there used to be diving boards all around the pool.

WN: The pool for the workers wasn't like that? Or . . .

RN: No. They were deeper. They were more square. But this one for the kids, all was on the hill like that. One end deep. On the deep end, they used to have all these diving boards. Yeah, that's about all they had. Can't think of anything else that we had that the other kids didn't have. No more. Shee, I wonder what else the kid, they did for fun, yeah? I'm just wondering.

WN: Like holidays in the Paia Plantation. What were the big holidays?

RN: Oh, yeah. The Japanese school used to take up all the holidays. Yeah, and the Japanese school used to have all kinds of functions going on for the kids and for the families, too.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

RN: . . . and Japanese churches came in more, because there was nothing for the Japanese families to do on holidays. So, the churches came in.

WN: What kind of churches?

RN: Like [Paia] Hongwanji and all. That's why they used to have bon-odori and they used to have certain days, certain iwai. They had all--when the church was formed, and how many people, and who died--all that, the church used to keep up. They used to keep the people occupied that way. The old Japanese church. There was in Lower Paia, and there was one in Upper Paia in the plantation camp. But the church played a big part in the community, those days. The old Japanese church and, oh, the Portuguese church had this Catholic affairs, too, yeah? Saints' day, this and that. They used to have two, three, four days a year. Some kind of celebration. The Japanese church had three, four days, too. All the churches had [days] filled with something to do with the time, yeah? All the extra time they had on the days that they don't work.

WN: What about the Chinese?

RN: Chinese did have. The old bachelors used to have--was mostly drinking and eating, but they didn't have anything for the kids. There were no Chinese kids to begin with, you see? The others were all bachelors. People didn't mingle as much, except for the older

folks. The older folks, why, they spoke Chinese; they knew the Pākēs; they knew the Portuguese. They were just like all one group. They got along real well. They could understand each other.

But, you know, the whole trouble with Japanese was that the Japanese all came up the hard way. That is, as plantation laborers, they came here with nothing. They usually had one aim--to go home with money. To go home Japan again with money--to the place where they came from. Which was wrong. The Chinese, the Portuguese, all other nationality and all other groups came. Land was so cheap, you could buy land cheap. And so, they bought land. They made investments. But the Japanese won't invest.

WN: Did your father feel the same way?

RN: He did. He didn't have any investments, so he must have felt the same way--go home with the kids or something, yeah? Then, when the kids begin to grow big and start going away to school, why, then they have to save money for the outside.

WN: So, your father started the bakery later on, yeah, in 1922?

RN: Yeah. Uh huh. That's [when] the bakery was started.

WN: Did he start it on the capital that he made from taxi driving and the small store?

RN: Yeah, whatever little money he had, he built that bakery on.

WN: Do you know why he chose to start a bakery?

RN: Oh, I believe because that's when the Love's bread start coming in from Honolulu to the stores.

WN: Oh, delivering, you mean?

RN: Yeah, delivered [to] stores. That's when he decided that he should go into bakery business. Not as a retail store. Mostly as a wholesale bakery, yeah? That's the only reason why he went into the bakery, I think. Because there was so much to be made and so much to be sold. And there were so many stores and so little to sell, eh? Was easy for him to sell it to the stores.

WN: You mean, there were so many stores where?

RN: Upper Paia, Lower Paia, yeah, all. All they sell is takuan, tōfu, and that kind stuff only. Nothing else to sell. They used to always ask my father, "Oh, you get extra bread, we want bread, yeah?" For their people down Lower Paia. That's how the thing started, I think. And then, they ride taxi. They going home, why, they want take home bread, or they want take home this, they want

take home that. That's how, I think, the bakery game finally got started. The old man. First, it got started with only about ten, fifteen loaves at a time in the oven, you know. Wood oven. Wood stove oven. Ten, fifteen loaves only.

WN: From the very beginning, he would make his own bread?

RN: No, he didn't. Just after he moved the store into the camp, then he start making bread.

WN: Did he cook bread for the Baldwins? Is that how he learned how to make bread?

RN: Yeah, that's true. I believe that's where he got his original start. Because he used to bake for the Baldwins. As a cook, he used to bake for the Baldwins. Then, [when] he used to run the taxi--with all the salesmen, everybody coming in from the Mainland, they begin to try to talk my old man into Why doesn't he open a bakery, because he [his store and taxi] was down by the railroad depot. They wanted him to open up a bakery business. All the outsiders came, and the taxi business must have drawn him all that attention [from] the haoles. Because there was no place to get bread.

I believe he didn't know too much, but he only knew what a family would use as bakery products. He used to make 'em. I think the ingredients--like butter instead of lard--was the thing that drew the attention of these few customers--haole customers--that they insisted that he start a bakery. The old man never made any bread with shortening. Used to be all butter before. That's the only kind, his rolls and stuff he used to make. Went over real big, eh? The average family only put jelly on and eat. But those days, you have flavored with butter and jelly, it goes well, too, and made it so that the old man had to use lot of butter instead of margarine.

WN: So, did he have any trouble getting permission from the plantation to start the bakery?

RN: Oh, the plantation gave him all the permission. To start the store, selling baked goods, plantation gave him that privilege. But as far as building a bakery, it was a small deal in the beginning. Just this wood oven, yeah? Then, after the wood oven start going good, and they were so short of bread, then that's when the plantation said, "Why don't you put a big oven, Nashiwa?" That's when the real bread business came in--when the plantation asked us to put a big oven so that we could produce more.

WN: Was this later on? When did you get the new oven?

RN: Oh, that was back in about 1924 or 1925. The plantation got my old man a oven, then, you know. People that make bakery ovens. I don't know how they get in contact with them, but they sent this

salesman over with the magazine and showed the type of oven and how they use. Those days, the ovens used to be this long, peel oven.

WN: Long, what oven?

RN: Peel oven. Wooden-handle peel oven to put the bread in and pull the bread out. That's the kind oven the haoles brought in. We ran 'em that way. We had one, two, three. We had three peel ovens like that. You push 'em in on a stick--long stick handle--and pull 'em out. Then, when you bake, you pull 'em out. You push 'em in, pull out. Then, later on, around 1925, 1926, came the mechanical oven that rolled in and rolled out. That was around 1926, 1928, around there.

WN: Those kind of things, did your father pay for those things, or . . .

RN: Yeah, paid for those. Well, it was easy to pay, because everything he made [was] sold, eh? And was all cash, too. Yeah, was all cash. You see, the demand was so great that he could demand cash. They had to pay if they want 'em, yeah? So, there was no problem in that.

WN: So, from 1922 when the bakery started, did you folks start wholesaling right away?

RN: No. Just about three to four years later, wholesale start. Because there was so much demand--they want to take home bread. Especially the haole families that was working on the plantation. When they go home, they want take home bread, or the wife would ask them to bring home bread. So, first, lot of that bread went all to the plantation store, you know.

WN: In the beginning?

RN: Yeah. And then, pretty soon, the haoles get smart. They say, "No, no send 'em to the store. We going come get over here." You see? Then, they know, every time they get fresh one, eh? But when you send 'em to the store, then some days, you might get the old ones. That was all eliminated because they came to the bakery for it. They paid cash, all, so.

WN: How much for one loaf?

RN: Ten cents.

WN: How many loaves, in the beginning, would you sell in one day, say?

RN: Shee, I think my mother and my father You see, they used to bake bread the old-fashioned way. The sponging process, where you mix 'em, and then let it stand, and let it rise, and push it down, and let it come up, and let it rise. That was the old family method of getting bread ready. They used to have to do that because

they never had a mixer by which they could mix the dough. Well, by the time 1926, 1927 came, my father had a dough mixer to knead the dough and make it warm so that she rise fast, too. So, about 1926, the first oven that they ran used to take in about--let's see--about fifty-two loaves. One oven.

WN: In one day?

RN: No, no. At one filling. But the old folks couldn't make any more than that many, you know. Because they couldn't mix 'em until they got this bread mixer--two mixers. They couldn't mix fast enough to keep filling the oven up. So, when they get this dough mixer, then they start make about fifty-something a day. That is one oven full, yeah, fifty-something. Then pretty soon, they used to run two, three oven fulls. But in the beginning, was only one oven at a time. They would use that one oven about--fill it up--about three times.

Then the old man began to feel that he should have two more ovens, so he don't have to fill up the same oven because every time you fill 'em up, you have to heat 'em over. You lose all the heat. So, they got him oil-burning oven this time that would go on automatically--heat up. If there's been a temperature drop, automatically she goes on and heat up the oven. So, then the oven would never drop in temperature more than so much, you see. That's why they got two more ovens. So, he had three ovens altogether, and that's the way he used to run it.

WN: So, all this equipment and everything, where did it come from? From Honolulu or . . .

RN: No, used to come from the Mainland, all. It usually came from San Francisco and Seattle. Lots from Seattle side. All the bakery equipment came from Seattle side.

WN: Before the dough mixer came and the other ovens came, about how many in one day would he sell? How many loaves?

RN: After we ran the first oven full and stick about fifty-two and about three times that, oh, maybe 200 or 300 loaves of bread a day. And yet, that wasn't enough, you see? So, he brought some more ovens inside. That's how it increased--it grew, yeah? They figure two oven would be [enough], but when he put in two oven, found out that there is that rise and drop of temperature that the time must elapse. He didn't want to lose the time waiting for that oven to [heat] up. That's how he brought in the next oven--so that no oven would drop in temperature to such an extent whereby you have to wait for it. Soon as the bread was ready, it could go in the oven. The bread would bake fast, you know. Not like the old days where you had to bake 'em one hour. Used to bake in about thirty minutes to about thirty-five minutes. Used to bake one-pound loaves.

WN: Did your father pay rent on the building?

RN: No. He put up the building himself. The property was plantation, all, but the building, the old man had to put it up himself. Well, he couldn't ask the plantation to do everything. They did so much for him. He was thankful for the amount that they did for him that he couldn't ask them to do everything. He had the plantation carpenters, on their spare time, order the material and everything and put 'em up. And then, he would tell them; he would show them pictures of how he want this particular room or that room to be made. They used to have this old bakery where they push the rack in, and where they leave the rack after it's loaded with bread, and where they have to take it. And after they took breads all out of the oven, where would they put it? They put it all on this rack and roll this rack away. Those are the kind of rooms that the carpenters--the old Japanese carpenters--used to make the rooms for.

My father was always [up] against the problem of--which was a good thing--a problem of space. He had to utilize space. When it was full, how would it be? Would it be all on racks that drove all on wheels? Or when it was wrapped, would it be all on wheels? Those were the things that always took so much room in a bakery. He soon begin to find out that no matter how much room he had, he never had enough room unless he rearrange his things. If he arranged [it so that] all the baked bread be kept in a certain section, and after it's wrapped, it goes in a certain section, then he always had lot of room in the bakery. No problem in making bread or baking bread.

WN: Was there anything else that he made besides bread in the beginning part?

RN: All bread. Bread and rolls. Dinner rolls. Like hamburger buns--the big buns, they used to want. The plantation people just want big buns. Hamburger buns. They never used it for hamburger, you know. They used it just like bread, and they put butter and then jelly and everything on. They eat one big bun like we would eat one big hamburger. Then, bumbai, the old man begin making hamburgers--begin to sell hamburgers. That's when all the people begin to buy hamburger buns and put ground meat into hamburger, yeah? That's how they learn how. It was mostly hit-or-miss job of how you would educate or get the people familiar to use the stuff--how they would use it.

WN: Oh, you mean the plantation camp people?

RN: Yeah, yeah. How to use the material. He would produce it, and he would have to teach them how to use it.

WN: You mean like buns and . . .

RN: Yeah, buns and hamburger buns. How they going put the hamburger in

the buns. It was all that kind of a deal. Otherwise, the business never would have grown at the speed that it grew, you know.

WN: Before, they would just eat rice, you mean?

RN: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Now they were eating hamburger, hamburger buns. And then, on top of that, my old man used to get a hell of a lot of hot dogs made by the slaughterhouse--plantation slaughterhouse. They make plenty hot dogs, so they could always make the hamburger for them, [too]. Used to make plenty hamburger. We used to sell hamburger, too, the buns.

WN: You used to sell the meat, too?

RN: Yeah, the meat, too. We used to have to keep 'em in ice box, so we had to wrap 'em in heavy paper. So, my father charged, he used to charge more [for hamburger] than the plantation meat market. Then, the plantation laborers used to go to the plantation meat market to buy 'em, which was a good thing for my old man because he didn't have the kinda room to put in more ice box. It was better for him and better for workers to go to the plantation because they could charge everything down there. The plantation would give them credit. Oh, since the plantation gave 'em credit, my father [would] ask the plantation butcher shop to make hot dogs--when my father used to make the buns, the long buns. There used to be a long, big bun like that long one.

WN: Oh, about one foot long?

RN: No, about ten inches long. The hot dog used to be long hot dogs, too. Casings used to be long. They used to be all lamb casings, before. You know, the outside cover. Well, they would put it in the grinder, and the grinder would push the hamburger into long hot dogs. My father would sell in the store first, and then he would tell them, "If you go down the meat market, you can get it so much cheaper."

WN: So, they would buy the hamburgers and hot dogs from the meat market and buy the buns from your father?

RN: Yeah, yeah.

WN: You told me, too, that there was a lunch counter at your father's bakery?

RN: Yeah. Uh huh. That's how you would get the people familiar with the different type of food. We would make it, you see? Since my father was a cook, he'd know all kinds of stuff. And then, this kind of casserole dish and stuff, he would make. Hamburger casserole with all the vegetables--corn and everything inside--[he would] make and then sell it over the counter. The people would begin to learn

how to make those things.

That's when all the younger Japanese begin to learn how to make casserole dishes and stuff like that. Because my old man used to make 'em in the store for them, and then he'd tell 'em, "Go try this." They try it and they like it. So, there was lot of Japanese ladies working for my old man. You know, come in, work. He would teach 'em how to make all those different things. He would teach 'em how to make a lot of mashed potato and meat stuff. Oh, they like fry mashed potato and meat together. The old man would make that mashed potato, and old bread, and corned beef. Corned beef used to come in this kind of square cans. Mix 'em up and knead 'em. When they fry 'em--it gets sticky when you mix it up with the bread and with the flour and potatoes--and then you make 'em in patties and you fry it. Oh, boy, they used to go crazy for that. Everybody begin to make 'em.

WN: Before, they didn't make that kind stuff?

RN: They never made that kind stuff. They didn't know how to make 'em, eh? Then they learn how to make that stuff, and everybody made 'em.

WN: Would people come in for recipes, things like that?

RN: Yeah, yeah, yeah. One after another. They teach all of them, you know. We tell, "Well, tomorrow is Saturday, so we going be making from the morning, certain time. You folks want to come, you folks can come." And they all be there to learn--all the young folks. That's how it made them familiar with the bakery, so that they don't have no Not like in the Mainland where you would say, "Oh, shucks, that's bakery goods." Oh, they thought was great to be bakery goods. (Chuckles) On Maui, yeah? That's the only place they would have learned how to cook actually.

Then, the school lunch begin to come up with things that look just like what my father used to teach those guys. More, the thing begin to push over. The school cafeteria used to sell lot of those kind of things. Then, the kids and the families begin to make their own, and they used to try to teach each other this or that. If they don't know, they come over, see my old man. My old man would make for them, or they would make with the old man. I don't know what one, but we used to make it this way, and they make it some other way.

But the old man says, "We used to make 'em this way," and he mix 'em up for them.

And, "Oh, this good--better," [they say]. It fried better, or it browns better, or crust better.

The old man make sure he mix lot of bread in [the hamburger] so that

the thing would have a hard skin right over when it fries in the oil. So, it come out--the hamburger--round hamburger like that, thick like that, [it gets] chewy. That's what the Japanese people want--chewy. Oh, they used to go crazy for those hamburgers. They all learned to make 'em, so they all make 'em.

It was an experimental thing to the old man in many respects--the baking and how to run the business. All fell in line as an experiment. The old man was always very What would you say? He would want to try all kinds of things as an experiment. As he try, he would try to improve it with the kind of people [working there], which made it so interesting for them--for him as well as for the people that was trying to learn the trade. We didn't keep the trade away from anybody. He kept pushing, pushing, pushing. Because the more bread stuff they used, the more bread you [Nashiwa] have to make. So, that's why the pork hash with the canned corned beef and the mix, [he] make sure they put in a lot of bread, you know. So, they would use lot of bread. Those are the kind of things the old man always was thinking, and he made it work, too.

Then, they begin to learn how to make it gummy and sticky. Like if you going to make 'em into a patty, you would put in, maybe, ten pounds of potato, you would put in three pounds of bread. Then, you would mix it on the mixer with so many pounds of He didn't use water. When they mix anything with bread and they mix it up, used milk. Because milk burns fast. So, she seal the oil out. That's why the hamburger used to be different in patties. Just like it was all meat. It wasn't all meat, it was just those square can of hamburger that you used to buy, before. Ten, fifteen cents a can, that square. But when you mix 'em with potato alone, why, she would suck oil, you see? But if you mix it with potato and bread, she won't suck oil.

WN: So, your father emphasized that bread?

RN: Yeah, the bread. He would tell them, "You folks have to use bread if you folks want thischewy, gummy feeling when you eat." And crispness. The thing is, if you don't do that, then the potato will suck oil. But if you have bread in and use milk, it won't suck oil. That's what he used to tell all the Japanese ladies and girls. That's why they used to make good patties, all of them. And sold a hell of a lot of bread. Old bread and all, used to sell.

WN: Before that, people could only get bread at the plantation store? And that was mostly haoles buying?

RN: Yeah. Yeah, only haole buying bread. Japanese not buying. But now they learn to use 'em, they learn to use 'em in so many different ways. Oh, the Japanese start buying. They were the majority [on the plantation], that's why. If you got them interested in it, why, you would be really making bread. Yeah, you had to get them interested

in it, because they were the majority that around, not the haoles, you see. That's what my old man was trying to develop--the interest among the Japanese, so that they would use more bread. And they did, you know. They got away from rice.

The plantation used to push like hell, "You eat more bread and you eat this, you eat that, you no get diabetes and you no get this and that." Yeah, Japanese used to be great ones for diabetes. No more diabetes. Yeah, brown bread. Then they start to push brown bread and all. (Laughs) Yeah, whole-wheat bread.

WN: You started working there [the bakery] after you finished high school?

RN: Yeah, yeah, yeah. After I finished my high school up. Yeah, after I finished high school. Then, I sent my brother to baking school--Jimmy. When Jimmy came home, I went.

WN: You went in 1940, yeah? But before you went . . .

RN: Jimmy went.

WN: Before 1940, you were in the bakery? What was your job before the war? What kind of things did you do in the bakery?

RN: In the bakery? I used to do what the old man taught me. All what the old man taught me. Just like an old-style baker. Mixing of the bread and everything. But the thing is, I sent Jimmy away. When I sent Jimmy away--before he came back--I told him be sure to take notes of all the new kind of equipment he would have to buy before he comes home.

WN: This was the Dunwillie Baking School in Minnesota?

RN: Yeah, yeah. I went there too, but he went there before me. One year before me. Then after he came back, I went over. That school was good because they would teach you and let you see the experiment as to how things happen if you do it this way and if you do it the other way. And all the different shops around Minneapolis. That was a good thing. That was very educational. More than what you actually learning was that they took you to like Excelsior Bakery and Wonder Bakery and all different types of bakery. Before you got there, it was always explained to you as to what was so good about this bakery and that bakery. Yeah, they would teach you. They would tell you the actual advantage of this shop against that shop. Those are the things that we had to learn because we would never be able to experience all those different things.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: When you were working in the bakery, how many people were working there?

RN: You mean, that is the Paia bakery [Nashiwa Bakery in Paia], you talking about? Oh, there must have been about twenty or twenty-two people working in there. But, you know, they were all working on a set job that they were assigned to. That changed when we got to Wailuku [in 1947]. The bakery got bigger and the procedures were different. Different procedures were used. But we couldn't use that different procedures with a shop like Paia where it's so small and so compact. We had to use one type of procedure that they use in small shops for Paia because the shop was crowded and the automation was so little, so limited. But as we grew out of Paia and things got to be more automated, we used more men and we used it more efficiently. In other words, we used to use about twenty-two or twenty-three workers in a shop like Paia. Then, we assign them to certain kind of job, and that's where they used to work. Well, then with the increase of production and everything, we still were using only twenty-one or twenty-two when Wailuku.

WN: This twenty-one or twenty-two, does that include the family members, too?

RN: Yeah, everybody on the payroll. All the family was on the payroll, that's why, naturally, they were assumed as workers.

WN: How many from the family worked and how many from outside the family worked?

RN: Oh, from the family, only about two or three. Because my brother, me, and my younger brother, yeah? That's the only family. All the rest was . . .

WN: Your father and mother, too?

RN: No. My mother didn't work. My father wasn't working already. Good thing I took him out before that.

WN: This was when? Nineteen thirty-three [1933]?

RN: Yeah, 1932, 1933. I took them out of the shop because the shop was getting too heavy for 'em, eh? Because the work got too hot, too rough, so I took 'em out. I took my mother out because the work was too much. Cement all day long--cement. Took my mother out, then I took my father out. He was all right so far. He never complained about anything--about any ill effect or anything. He didn't have any sickness. My mother had diabetes, that's why I took her out. Too much on the floor, eh? Was bad for her. My father was working. He had no ailment or anything, but the thing is, he had an overtaxed heart. Work too long already. Which we never knew anything about. He didn't know himself. But good thing we took him out when we did.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 7-35-1-80; SIDE ONE

WN: Okay, backing up just a little bit, what was the daily operation hours of the bakery?

RN: Which one? You mean, the one in Paia? Oh, that must have been sixteen to eighteen hours operation.

WN: From what time to what time?

RN: When the workers got in, so from about 3 [o'clock] in the afternoon until 3 [o'clock] in the morning.

WN: How about the lunch counter? What was the hours?

RN: Oh, the lunch counter was only eight-hour deal. Every eight hours, they change--the workers change, you see. Ate at lunch counter. The lunch counter was busy, but was always enough hired hands to manage it in eight hours. Because the people they deal with only came around shopping only eight hours. The most of the dealing--lunch counter dealing--came in was this Marines.

WN: During the war [World War II]?

RN: Yeah, during the war. From the camp--Camp Maui Marines. That's when the lunch counter actually operated.

WN: That was when business was good?

RN: Good, real good. I used to buy hamburger meat from the slaughterhouse by buying the whole cow. And they used to grind 'em for me.

WN: From Paia Meat Market?

RN: No. From the Haleakala Ranch. They used to slaughter beef. When they slaughter beef, they slaughter one for me. That used to go all to the store for hamburgers and all for the lunch counter.

WN: In those days, what made more money? The bakery wholesaling part or the lunch counter?

RN: You would put it that way--"What made more money in business?" The thing is that percentagewise, lunch counter made good money. But volumewise, the bakery made money. That's the difference. You see, the bakery made money by volume, all by volume. But if you was to say, eight hours of work and what you sold, the lunch counter would make more money. Because they only go eight hours, whereas the bakery would have to go eighteen hours today, maybe, eighteen hours tomorrow, or maybe less tomorrow, or maybe more tomorrow. It all depends. But still, the volume of business you had in wholesale bakery made more money than the lunch counter. The lunch counter

made retail money, yeah, but as far as wholesale business goes, it's all bakery.

WN: During the wartime, the soldiers used to hang out over there a lot?

RN: Oh, yeah. You see all the Marines that come home, too. They had to stop over there before they went to Camp Maui. That's how they used to shop so much. That's why I had to have so much beef. They depended on us. They said like, "We going to have so many Marines coming. About so much hamburgers." Then we would prepare for that kind of business. They would squawk like heck if we didn't have 'em because they give us ahead time notice. We told them that we were having difficulty in getting beef. Then they got from the War Department the instructions that I send my order to Haleakala Ranch because they slaughtered beef. Naturally, Haleakala Ranch had to live up to the demands of the Marines. That's how I got all my hamburger meat. My wife used to do all that, you know. She used to make sure that all of it was mixed and made.

WN: Did they give you a cheaper price for the meat?

RN: Oh, yeah, that was way down. I bought slaughtered beef from a slaughterhouse. I didn't buy hamburger, but it was all made into hamburger already. Ground into hamburger by them. But the price was still just like wholesale because I was selling it to the Marines.

WN: I want to get into the wholesaling. You were telling me last time that you sort of convinced your father that wholesaling was the better way to go rather than just retail?

RN: Oh, yeah. That's absolutely. Because a wholesale ends when the bread leaves the shop, but retail doesn't end there. Who going tell you whether it's going to come back or not? That's why it's better to be doing the wholesale business because you end the business when it's sold, whereas if you went in a regular retail business where you took back sales and everything like that, you'll never make any money because you never know how much is going to come back. There's no way of controlling it. You have no way of controlling it because you're not in the middle of it. The store that buys it is the controller, you see? He can control that.

WN: About what year did you actually start wholesaling?

RN: Oh, I actually started wholesaling about 1932 or 1933.

WN: Before that, it was mostly the lunch counter and the retail?

RN: Yeah. And the kind of wholesale the old man used to do--to the store, yeah? Like bakery goods to the store.

WN: This is the Paia Plantation Store?

RN: No, all the stores. All over the routes. All on the route-- Wailuku, Makawao, Hamakua Poko, Paia, all over. But used to go to the stores direct. It never went to the consumer.

WN: This was before 1933?

RN: Yeah, it's all around 1933. It all went to the stores.

WN: So, when you started to take over, you delivered just to the stores?

RN: Yeah, we sold direct to the stores. The sale finished right there, you see? It's sold. Wasn't no consignment. Consignment is no business to be in.

WN: I see. You just sold it to the stores, and let them worry about the . . .

RN: Yeah, whatever they going to do with it, let them worry. That was a better way of doing business.

WN: About how many stores would you say that you folks actually dealt with?

RN: (Pause) Oh, about 200 or so.

WN: In 1933?

RN: Uh huh [yes].

WN: This was all over Maui?

RN: All over Maui. From Lahaina right down. Lahaina, Wailuku. All the way up to Wailuku, then all the way up to Paia. That's about the size of it. About 200.

WN: How did you learn about wholesaling? You were telling me once there was a salesman who came around.

RN: Yeah. I had a lot of conversation, lot of talk with the salesmen. The only difference [between] his business and my business is that he dealing with a manufacturer whereas I'm dealing with a consumer. So, I told him, "If you were to deal with the consumer, would you deal the same way like you deal with the wholesaler?" That's the kind of conversation that used to come up all the time.

WN: These salesmen are like what salesmen? What did they sell?

RN: Oh, they were general representatives for General Mills, for Fisher Flour and Mills, and the other one was Pillsbury. All big flour mills. But they were all in the wholesale business. I asked them why they were all in the wholesale, you see? That's why the story start come out, little by little. Why in the wholesale business

and not why a consumer type of business. Because in wholesale business and consumer type business, two different types of business. Those were some of the things that you don't learn in school either. It's that you would gradually visualize how it works. Until you visualize how it works, you don't know how the hell the goddamn baking business is. That's where too many of them lose their pants. Because they don't know.

WN: Previously, did you deal always with Fisher and General Mills, these Mainland firms?

RN: Yes, I was the one that brought 'em in. I brought 'em in, and my old man kept it up.

WN: Before that, how did your father get his flour?

RN: Plantation store. The plantation store prices were so high. That was a type of business that you had to charge already so much because it was finished after it sold as far as the flour mill was concerned. That is, with the flour that they sold the stores. Well, that's how you would assume a business from a wholesale flour mill, but not from a bakery standpoint. Bakery standpoint is not that. From a bakery standpoint, after you sell it to the store, it doesn't mean that you finish the sale. That's only the beginning. So, those are some of the things that differ between wholesaling to bakeries and wholesaling to stores.

WN: So, when you took over, you were the one that started contacting these Mainland companies? Was there really a big price difference?

RN: Oh, yes, there is. Tremendous difference in price. If you got it from a wholesale house, they would say the price is so much. That's the price that the mills gave the store. That's the price.

WN: This is dealing with the plantation store?

RN: Plantation store or to the bakery. That's the price. If you sell it for that price, well, you supposed to realize profit. And they don't care whether you make a profit or not. As far as the flour mills goes. But if that price is agreeable to you, they not the one that's going to complain. Just because the price is agreeable to them, I'm not going to tell you, "Oh, I going give you cheaper." I'm going to leave it that way. Because it's agreeable to you folks, and you folks base your business on those terms.

Whereas in the bakery, it's different when you buy it from this kind of big mills. They know before the year begins that they going to get so many thousands tons of flour--this type of flour, that type, whatever type of flour--from a certain group. Like if you getting from General Mills, well, you getting from all the General Mills stores and all the General Mills production. That's the difference between that and dealing with wholesale stores.

That's why the price would be different. They may have an oversupply of wheat or certain type of wheat in that particular area. Then, we will have a special price.

WN: So, salesmen would come around and tell you . . .

RN: Yeah. We can have special price because otherwise, they have too much of it. They going be stuck at the end. So, they let you know. Like me, they would come to me and they say, "Well, we have an overproduction of wheat this year. We feel that the demand is not there, but we going to have the wheat. So, what we going do?"

Well, that is true if we were running only bakeries, but like today, with Russia running short of food and like this Cambodia and all of that places running short of food, lot of that wheat is promised for those countries. And the price has been set then. Lot of the wheat is more wheat than we need. So, if it's going to be sold to them, that eliminates the wholesaler like the big flour mills. They happy because they haven't lost anything. They've sold everything they have to the wholesaler.

WN: These wholesalers like General Mills, did they give you credit?

RN: Oh, yes. They definitely did. I never know the price of the flour that I'm using until the end of the year. I would have a rough idea of what the flour going to cost me, but I don't know the price because my price will be at the end of the year.

WN: You roughly estimate?

RN: Yeah, we have to. They tell us right off the bat, "Well, you going to pay six dollars a barrel." All right, you agree. Six dollars a barrel. You may have to pay six dollars a barrel for the first six months. Then after that, maybe, it drop to three dollars a barrel.

WN: So, as the wholesale price changed and went down, did your bakery prices go down, too?

RN: No, it don't. My bakery prices always stayed as the first of the year price of flour so that it won't change my profit. Whereas a guy can go broke if that change. If I change my prices, I can go broke. So, we don't change prices. We're promised so much, we take it at that. Before the end of the year, they tell us it's so much. If we made money, we're lucky we made the money. (Chuckles)

WN: After you took over, did you folks do any kind of retailing at all? Did people come into the bakery and buy, say, one loaf of bread?

RN: Oh, yeah. The shop up there we have now. It's all retail.

WN: Oh, Wailuku? How about Paia?

RN: Paia, too. The shop up Paia used to be retail, too. Like the one

over here in Wailuku, too, it's all retail. But we don't figure that we going to clean up on the retail end of it. The thing is, as long as we don't lose money. We working on the wholesale end of it all the time, so we're not concerned as to whether we going to make money on the retail end of it. But we sure don't want to lose. We know that from the beginning because we know what we been paying for it and we know what it costs to make.

WN: What about competition? When did you notice other bakeries coming up? Or were there any at all?

RN: We don't have that kind of problem here. Like now, we don't. The thing is, competition is something that You may consider it as competition at one time and may just overlook it as one of the things in business. May not be the competition, may be just one of things happening--economic conditions. You don't look it as a competition. All right, some bakery is growing very rapidly and is taking your market. Would you know it? Yes, you would know it, but you don't let that bother you. Because if he's taking over your market, he's going into foreign grounds. In other words, he's going take a slump, and he won't know how to stop it.

WN: Did you notice any slumps throughout the years?

RN: Yes, we do. Especially like Holsum. Terrific slump, you know, those buggas. They not making it a go.

WN: When did you notice that people like Holsum and Love's starting to supply Maui with bread?

RN: Oh, well, we know that they come in. We don't let that bother. We would ask General Mills what's their consumption of flour. So, keep 'em in line, eh? They will tell you what Love's buy and what Holsum buy. You know if they buy only so much, they not going to be any problem to you. There's nothing to worry about, because they not going be able to do anything to you as long as you operate without losing money. The thing is to operate without losing money. That's what is very important--whether you making or losing money.

WN: When did you folks decide to start this Wailuku branch?

RN: That began when I had to move out of Paia.

WN: Why did you have to move out of Paia?

RN: Because they didn't want me to put in a bigger bakery there than I had over there already.

WN: Oh, the plantation . . .

RN: Yeah. They didn't care. They told me this. Not that they didn't

want. They said, "Why should you put in \$250,000 on lease land?"

WN: The plantation told you that?

RN: Yeah. "Why should you put it in lease land? Why don't you put it into land that you bought?"

Then you would say where the hell you going get the money? Well, you'd be surprised. The plantation will see to it that you get the money.

WN: How did they do that?

RN: They control the banks, eh? "Give 'em the money." (Chuckles) So, you get the loan. You get the big money. You can buy anything you want. When you buy those things like that, you want to watch out. There are guys on the other side that's going to want to see you take a spill, too. They going let you buy it [property], and then they going make money in between selling to you. But that's what you got to watch out. Because they willing to let you have all the money you want.

WN: So, your original plan was to expand in Paia?

RN: Yeah. Because my old man said that he wanted to start in Paia. I told him, "Well, all your business is more on this side."

WN: Oh, Wailuku side?

RN: Yeah. "Your greater portion of your business is on this side, so"

WN: Because there are more stores on this side?

RN: More stores, more people, and more land around available for people.

So, then the old man said, "Well, that's good. Where we going to buy the land?"

Oh, that was no problem to me. All I had to do was find out from the bank.

I say, "Hey, who got land for sell?" So many acres.

The bank will look it up for you. First they had Maui Soda. I originally bought Maui Soda property, you know.

WN: Maui Soda and Ice Works?

RN: Yeah, and I bought it cheap for about \$15,000. Then, few months later, they came back and told me, "Wilcox has a nice, big property right in town. He want to sell. Why don't you get it?" The bank

tell me, see? So, okay. I went to see Wilcox.

"Yeah, we sell 'em."

"Why, how much you want?"

Oh, they tell me how much. They say they wanted \$15,000.

I say, "Okay, I buy it."

Then, I turned around, and this Maui Soda, where the home is and everything--property down there--I told the bank, "I want to sell that property."

They say okay. Pretty soon, [the owner of] No Ka Oi Inn--he wanted. He paid me twenty-five [thousand dollars] for that. I paid fifteen to buy it. Then I sold it for twenty-five. After I sold it for twenty-five, I bought that Wilcox property. I bought it at two different times. That's different pieces attached to it.

WN: You had a bakery in Wailuku and you had a bakery in Paia?

RN: Yeah.

WN: When did the Paia bakery close down?

RN: I closed it as soon as I opened this one.

WN: So, about 1947?

RN: No, closed it 1933 or 1934. [The bakery portion was closed.]

WN: Paia?

RN: Yeah, closed that Paia shop. They were only retail shop then, after that. All the stuff they sold up there [Paia] went from here--from Wailuku.

WN: The bakery in Paia was still up though?

RN: No. The bakery was only store, now.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: Okay, so you bought the property in Wailuku in 1944.

RN: Yeah. Uh huh.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

NN (RN's wife): . . . until that employee--the one who was running down there, the one that work for us so many years--she retired, so we had to close down Paia.

WN: Is there anything you want to add?

RN: No. The thing is, you know why the guy that was working for us in Paia had to leave Paia?

WN: Mr. Toyama?

RN: Yeah. Not because we weren't baking on this side. That's because the plantation told us why do we have to buy and put in so much-- \$250,000 or so like that--into lease property? That's when we bought all this other property. So, the bakery was closed by then, you see? That's the only difference.

WN: Okay. So, the bakery is still operating today, yeah? Wailuku.

RN: Yeah. Wailuku, yeah, the bakery is going. That side [Paia] is all closed, you know.

END OF INTERVIEW

**STORES and
STOREKEEPERS of
Paia & Puunene, Maui**

Volume I

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**Ethnic Studies Program
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